Talks of SFB632 (Project D2)

A Multiple Spell-Out account of Greek topics

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In this talk, we investigate the consequences of the *Multiple Spell-Out Hypothesis* (MSO) (Uriagereka 1999) for prosodic constituency. Based on the phrasing of clitic-doubled DP-objects in Greek, we claim that phonology individually applies the phrasing algorithm to each product of Spell-Out and that the architecture of the *Multiple Spell-Out* program is in its essence correct. More specifically, we argue that phonology is sensitive to differences in the processing of syntactic material and it reflects via p-phrasing the derivational status of cascades. This conclusion is reinforced by the syntactic and prosodic non-islandhood of Greek preverbal DP-subjects, an isomorphism, nevertheless, which calls for a refinement of Uriagereka's (1999) implementation of the MSO system in terms of Commands Units.

The predictive power of the MSO program is tested against two constructions: (a) clVOS orders and (b) preverbal subjects. We provide evidence that the clitic-doubled DP-object in clVOS orders displays both syntactic and phonological islandhood. Thus, it exhibits CED effects and it forms a p-phrase on its own as suggested by segmental evidence as well as by the distribution of fill-words and parentheticals.

With respect to Greek preverbal subjects, it has been extensively argued that they are base generated adjuncts (Philippaki 1987, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). Therefore, according to the mechanics of the MSO program, they should constitute derivational islands and exhibit syntactic *and* phonological islandhood. Nevertheless, we show that this prediction is not born out, since preverbal Greek subjects permit extraction from within. What is more striking is that they do not qualify as islands at the phonological level either. The syntactic and prosodic non-islandhood of Greek preverbal subjects indicates that, although they constitute independent CUs, they do not behave as derivational cascades. We assume that this verifies from the opposite direction the basic prediction of the MSO architecture regarding the syntax-phonology interface, namely that the derivational history of the relevant element is reflected on its prosodic constituency.